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TO

MR. JAMES CROPPER,

A QUAKER MERCHANT OF
LIVERPOOL.

*On his Letter to Mr. Wilberforce,
relating to East India and
West India Sugar.*

Kensington, 17. July, 1821.

FRIEND CROPPER,

I find, in the Dublin Mercantile Advertiser of the 9th instant, a letter signed with your name, and addressed, in your sleek style, "*to William Wilberforce,*" upon the subject of East India and West India Sugars. This letter has *no date*; but, it appears to have been written during the last session of parliament. It contains matter worthy of public notice, however unworthy the writer may be of such notice. Selfishness and hypocrisy, whenever they can be come at, whether they take refuge behind the

bayonet, or under the broad-brimmed-beaver, ought to be dragged forth if possible.

As long as you confined your pen to your counting-house concerns, and kept your correspondence within the limits of *manuscript*, the public had little to do with you; but, having appeared in *print*, voluntarily and ostentatiously too; and having held up to us your *humanity* as the motive of your writing, and even of your trade; and, having, at the same time, branded another description of traders with carrying on an infamous traffick; having put yourself before us in this way, we have something to do with you.

Your letter, though full of ignorance and falsehood, touches on matters very important in their nature, and very proper to be developed a little just at this time, when the mammoth of

A

iniquity seems to be fast approaching his end. Thou complaineest to thy friend William, that the West India Merchants and Planters are endeavouring to *over-reach* thee. And, if they do *that*, they have, as the o'd saying is, *only one more* to over-reach, I can tell them that for their encouragement.

The case, as you state it, is this : that sugar is imported from the East as well as from the West Indies ; that the East India sugar has a higher duty imposed upon it than the West India sugar has ; that the West Indians are endeavouring to have this difference *increased* ; that, against this increase you protest, being, as you are, a person engaged in the East India trade, but, and *more especially*, because the said increase would tend to uphold and perpetuate the *slave trade*.

This is the case, as stated by you. This is the subject on which you have addressed the public. It divides itself naturally into two parts ; that is to say, the

proposed *increase*, in a mere trafficking point of view ; and the influence of that increase as to the *slave trade*. When I come to speak of this latter, I shall shave your brim off close to your hair, and let people see thee and thy respected friend William too : but, first, let us take the mere trafficking question.

Before I do this, however, I will insert your letter entire, that you may not accuse me of garbling, and that the public may have a full view of your talents, and of the humanity of your views, as well as of your meekness and modesty. I number the paragraphs, in order to save the time, that would be necessary for the making of quotations.

WILLIAM WILDERFORCE.

1. RESPECTED FRIEND, — I know that any thing which respects the great cause which is the subject of my letter, will be a sufficient apology for my addressing thee.

2. In the first place, I should state that I am engaged in the East India Trade, and therefore interested in the measure likely soon to be brought be-

fore Parliament, of an increase in the Duty on East India Sugar, against which the Merchants interested in that Trade here have petitioned Parliament, but they did not introduce into their Petition any thing respecting its influence on the Slave Trade.

3. On the opening of the East India Trade I believed that a great experiment was about to be tried—that of a free competition between the products of the East by *Free Men*, and those of the West by *Slaves*. Of the result of that competition—even shackled as it was in the case of Sugar, by a difference of 10s. per cwt. in the duty—I entertained no doubt, being persuaded that cultivation by free men, in the country of their birth, must be much cheaper than by the transportation of Slaves from Africa to the West Indies. The high freights and other impediments which the Charter of the East India Company caused, prevented the competition of bulky articles—but we had seen the effects in the case of Indigo; the introduction of its cultivation in Bengal is but recent, and yet it has now ceased to be raised in any other place to any considerable extent, owing, we doubt, to the cheapness of its production there.—With these views, I did not hesitate to enter ex-

tensively into the East India Trade; and though now so much overdone as not to be profitable, yet in these respects I have not been disappointed. The importations of Cotton have greatly reduced the prices of that article, and thereby tended to extend its consumption; so that since the opening of this Trade, the Cotton Manufactures of Great Britain have increased nearly 50 per cent.

4. Besides this great benefit, there is one which the friends of humanity will consider still more important, and that is, that the price of Cotton (if not already) is likely, at no great distance of time, to be so reduced as not to pay for the further importation of Slaves. A friend of mine, who has lately been in America, states, that the planters said that the fall in price was not entirely a loss to them, for they had less inducement to work their Negroes hard, and they would increase faster; it hence appears that a low price may pay under good treatment of the Slaves, though it might not pay for that abuse of them which requires a continual fresh supply. The Slaves in America are rapidly increasing, and the reduced price of cotton will accelerate that increase, so that with the aid of supplies from India, when they shall again have a good crop (they

have had two bad ones in succession), it may reasonably be hoped will very soon, if not already done, put an end for ever to the importation of Slaves for the cultivation of this article.

5. East India Sugars have been increasingly coming into consumption in this country; and though the whole extent is yet a mere trifle, yet seeing what has happened in the cases of Indigo and Cotton it is no wonder that West India Merchants and Planters are alarmed, and call out for increasing protection; for I am persuaded that if a fair competition were allowed, by some reduction, if not an entire equality in Duty, that their present system, so far as it may prevent the natural increase of the Slaves, must be altered; nothing but high prices can ever support the Slave Trade—nothing but high prices, which cause the overworking of the Slaves, can ever render it necessary. The Slaves in America are said now to be increasing at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, but I think there is no increase on our importations from our West India Colonies to indicate any such increase there; a fall in the prices of Sugars may probably have that effect in the West Indies.

6. It may fairly be asked, why do the West India Planters ask for an

increased duty on East India Sugars? they, no doubt, wish either to increase the price of Sugars, or to prevent a fall; and how does it happen that, with all the immense difference of distance which they have to be brought, with a difference of 10s. per cwt. in their favour, that they are still afraid of the competition of East India Sugars? Is not this a most decided admission, that their system of cultivation cannot exist unless the country is taxed to support it? There is evidently a rate of prices necessary to support Slave cultivation under a treatment which prevents their increase, and may require supply by fresh importations. At a lower rate Slave cultivation may be continued, but not the importations of Slaves; cotton seems to be approaching this rate, but in America, where the cultivation of Sugar is commenced, it is said (without difference of opinion) to pay incomparably better than cotton; hence I infer that Sugar is not yet approaching to this point. There is I believe, a point still lower, where every system of slavery must be given up; has not that point arrived in all our cultivation and manufacture in this country? who would here accept of thousands of men if they were offered for nothing? It has been com-

puted that a family which could comfortably be supported under their own management, at 18s. per week, would cost, if supported in our parish workhouse, 28s. per week; in such a state of things how could slavery exist in this country, even if allowed by law? Is it not hence fair to conclude, that so long as man bears any price at all, production has not yet reached its lowest point, and so long as he bears a high price, there is at least great temptation for breaking the laws against importation?

7. I am persuaded that if it had not been for the Charter of the East India Company shutting out our intercourse with that country, the African Slave Trade would long since have ceased to exist, if it had ever had a beginning, and if left to a fair competition it cannot now much longer continue.

8. It is surely a benefit to this country to be supplied with Sugars at a low price; and what do the West India Planters offer to the People of England as an inducement to give up this advantage? Is it that a system of working the negroes may continue which shall retard their natural increase and prevent that gradual fall in their price which would remove all temptation to import them? Surely, the People of England ought not to be taxed by keeping up the price of an article which may tend to support this infamous traffic.

9. The Slave Trade on the coast of Africa has lately been carried on to a shocking extent; and vain and fruitless, it would seem, have been all our efforts to abolish and to induce other countries to abolish this trade (at least as it respects the extent of it, though it may be carried on by others), if the People of England are to be taxed with a high price of Sugar, which can have no other tendency than to support it. We have only to clear the way instead of opposing fresh obstacles, and we may then hope for a reduction in the prices of Sugar, as has already been the case with cotton, and with similar effects.

10. When enlightened views have almost universally condemned systems of restriction or prohibition in commerce, shall we in any case be justified in increasing them—and least of all when such a tax on this country may tend to support a most infamous traffic?

11. The West India Planters, no doubt, intend their proposed measure as a prohibition, and if so, they call the Government to sacrifice nearly 50,000l. per annum, arising from the difference already existing between the duties paid on East and West India Sugar.

12. If these views are correct—and I hope they will at least be thought to deserve investigation—the Legislature should pause, and consider well before it adopts the plan proposed. Every be-

nevolent mind must rejoice at the prospects before us, and must be more disposed to hasten than to hinder that course of events, which seems to be bringing about these changes on a basis more solid than any laws, or prohibition whatever.

I am, very respectfully, thy Friend,

JAMES CROPPER.

It is the mere trafficking part of the subject that we have first to discuss. The precise nature of the request or the application of the West India Merchants, or, rather, Planters, I am not informed of. But, it is clear, that they want an additional duty on East India Sugar, in order that theirs may not be depressed in price by the East India importation. Now, at first sight, this would be a little more unreasonable even than the application of the Agriculturasses; but, as will presently appear, the cases are very different indeed. The light which you place this conduct of the West Indians in is extremely odious, being nothing short of that of a *desire* to cultivate heir lands by

the hands of *slaves*, and those brought from Africa too.

Paragraph 6 contains this base imputation, and that conveyed in as artful a manner as need be.

"It may *fairly* be asked," say you; and, then you go on, till you come to the slanderous conclusion; overlooking all the weighty reasons that make in favour of the West India Planter's application, and leaving your readers to believe, that there are *no disadvantages* at all, other than natural ones, that the West Indies are subjected to more than the East Indies. It is, according to you, a *fair, open competition between the two countries*; and the West Indians are wanting a *monopoly*, because without *that*, they cannot carry on the cultivation.

Now, is this *fair play*, friend Cropper? Is this *fairly* asking the question? It is not known to the nation at large, the applause of whom it was your intention to catch; but, it is very well known to you, that a West India Planter is little better than a *slave* himself,

though he, in general, willingly enough contributes, in wish as well as in act, to keep us in slavery at home. You know well, that he cannot ship his produce to any country in Europe but this; that he must send it in an English ship; that he cannot sell his produce to go to the United States, except it go in an English ship; that he cannot get *building materials or provisions* (absolutely necessary to him) from the United States, except in English ships; and, you know, that he has thus lost, in great part, his *best buyer* and his *best seller*! For, the Americans, in the way of just retaliation, have shut out the English ships, trading between their country and our West Indies, while the colonies of *other nations* send their produce and receive their supplies in American ships!

What a monstrous disadvantage is here, and wholly unknown to the East Indies! Did you then, put the question fairly, friend CROPPER. In consequence of

these restrictions, the English West India produce that goes to the American States is first carried in English ships to *Halifax* (Nova Scotia), or *Bermuda*. There it is unloaded and put into store. Then the American ship comes and loads it and takes it away. What trouble! What a plague! What an additional expence to the *consumer* in the United States; of course what a diminution of consumption; and, again of course, what a diminution of demand, and what an injury to the grower of the produce!

The United States of America is the natural market of the West India Islands. Those Islands stand in need of salt provisions, flour, grain, Indian corn, boards, spars, timber in all its forms; even live stock, down to *poultry*. With all these they were, and always can be, supplied abundantly by the United States, all at a *far cheaper rate* than from any other country in the world. Then, the United States always

did, and always must when permitted, take their payment in the produce of the West Indies. Never was a trade so natural, so rational in itself, so manifestly mutually beneficial. It was an exchange going on between the American farmer and the West India grocer.

The English West Indians must, in consequence of these restrictions, get their provisions from Ireland and Canada, and their building materials from the latter. All at once, (quality taken into view) at double or triple the price. The injury to the West India planter arising from these restrictions is too manifest to be insisted on. Suppose the Hop-growers of Surrey, for instance, were compelled to purchase their poles and a great part of their food in Hampshire, to send their hops for sale nowhere but into Rutlandshire, or, if they sent them elsewhere, to send them only in Rutlandshire Waggon, driven by Rutlandshire men; suppose, besides this, the

poles and provisions were three times the price in Rutlandshire that they were in Middlesex; suppose that, while this was going on with regard to the poor planters in Surrey, those of Kent were allowed to send their hops just where they pleased, and by waggons and men of any country, had more than a sufficiency of poles and provisions at home. Now, suppose this case, and you have very nearly the relative situation of the West and East India Sugar growers. And will any man living say, that it would, in such a case, be fair towards the Surrey slaves to suffer Kentish hops to come into the market in Rutlandshire? Would you, friend Cropper, if you were a Surrey Planter, hold *thy* tongue! Wouldest thou remain in "*the quiet?*" Wouldest thou say, that thou hadst "*fair play?*" And, if thou becomest ruined, wouldest thou say, that it had been by fair *competition?*

"Your fourth's a Merchant, meek,
"and much a liar." POPE."

For, friend Cropper, there is too ways of telling a *lie*; one by *commission*, and the other by *omission*. The Bible says "Thou shalt *not* bear false witness against thy neighbour." Now, if we leave out the word *not*, we tell a lie of the Bible, and yet we use *its very words*. We use its words, but not *all* of them. And, this is much about what you have done with regard to the case of *thy* neighbours, the West Indians. This conduct of yours puts me in mind of the instance of double-distilled Quaker craft so celebrated in the United States, practised by friend *Jacob* and friend *Isaac*. Friend Jacob had a rich ship at sea, and there were great fears for her safety. He had not insured soon enough. He went to friend Isaac to insure. The policy was to have effect from the next day at three o'clock. if then signed by friend Isaac. *Before the hour arrived*, friend Jacob had heard that his ship was *stranded*; and he was afraid that friend Isaac, (who lived a little

way out of town) would hear of it too before the hour. Therefore, he sent his clerk (equally friendly) with this message: "friend Isaac, friend Jacob "bids me tell thee, that he has *heard from the ship*, and, if thou hast not signed the policy, thou needest not do it." Friend Isaac, who had *not* signed the policy, but who, taking it for granted that *hearing from the ship* meant *hearing of her safety*, told the clerk, that it was *past three*, and that he would step into his parlour and *fetch the policy*, which he did, having first clapped his name to it and *dried the ink*. Now here was a lie on both sides. Yet, not in *words*; for friend Jacob *had* heard from the ship; and it *was* past three o'clock, and Isaac *did* go and fetch the policy. The sequel was a law-suit between the two friends, during which all the facts came out.

This is precisely the way in which you have stated the case between you and the West India Planters, you have suppressed

every thing that was necessary to give a fair view of the question; and you have, most malignantly, ascribed the want of power in the West Indians to carry on a corruption with the East Indians to the former *employing slaves*, and not at all to those oppressive restrictions, *a part* only of which I have mentioned; which are the *sole* cause of the incapacity of the West Indians to contend with the East, and which form the sole ground of their application for discriminating duties.

You, in the close of your letter, seem to *condemn all restrictions upon trade*. You hail the prospect of things getting into their natural channel in consequence of the removal of all restrictions. That is to say, of course, all restrictions that stand in *your* way; for you say not a word about the West India restrictions. Aye; let *all* be removed; and, as you well know, not another ounce of sugar, rice, or cotton, would come from the East Indies, and your ships might

be as well sold to make paddock-fences for the fund-lords as to lie and rot in the water. Take away the West India restrictions, and we might have good sugar at about three halfpence a pound. Leave the trade as free with those Islands as it is with the East Indies, and the West India Planters will ask for no *protection*, I warrant them.

Your saying, therefore, as you do, in paragraphs 8 and 10, that the West Indians propose to *tax* the people of this country to *keep up the price of their produce* and to *support an infamous traffick in slaves*, is at once *false and malignant*. Now, mind, I know not a man of them. And I do know, that they have, and are, amongst the supporters of that system, which has rendered England miserable and disgraced. But, give the devil his due, friend Cropper. *They* do not want the people of England to pay any tax at all on *any sugar*. It would be much better for them, if there were no tax at all on sugar. Give them

leave to *sell to whom they please* and to *buy of whom they please*, and they want no restrictions upon any body in any market in the world. And this, *you well know too*, all the time; that you are insinuating, and, indeed, asserting, that *they want to have us taxed*, in order that they may carry on an advantageous and "*infamous traffick.*"

The West Indians say (or, I suppose so, for I have neither seen nor heard of their application before); "You compel us to submit to a certain mode of buying and selling which must be our total ruin, if you leave the market open to the sugar of the East Indies." Is this *asking to have the people of England taxed*? Is this an endeavour to keep up the price of sugar? Is this acknowledging, that they cannot raise sugar so cheap as it can be raised in the East Indies? If the government do not care about the ruin of the West Indians, it should let them alone: they would take care of themselves I warrant it.

But, no: the government say this: "we are well aware, that your property, and all the whole of your concerns, are greatly injured by our policy; by our cutting off your free trade with the United States; by compelling you to send away your produce in none but English ships and to receive your supplies, so necessary to you, in none but ships of the same description. We are well aware of all this. But, we have something to think about beside your immediate interests. We have the interest and safety of the whole nation to think about. And, we are of opinion, that the employment of *English Ships* is an object of great importance on the one hand, and that the preventing of other natives from increasing their maritime means by trading with you is an object of great importance on the other hand. In short, we see, that, to leave you with a *free trade* would be

“to render you *worse than use-*
 “*less* as to the kingdom at large.”
 The West Indians may answer:
 “But in injuring *us*, you injure
 “the kingdom at large: for, in
 “whatever degree you cramp
 “our trade, you compel the con-
 “sumers of our sugar to pur-
 “chase of us at a higher price
 “than they otherwise would pur-
 “chase.” The government
 would reply: “We are aware of
 “that also; but this high price
 “of sugar, given in order to
 “maintain our shipping, is a
 “part of the price which the
 “nation pays for securing to
 “itself that power and that
 “safety, which it cannot have
 “unless it take care, by its na-
 “vigation laws, to secure a su-
 “periority over other nations at
 “sea.”

Now, this, friend Cropper, is
 the true state of the case. Whe-
 ther the *policy* be *sound* or *not*, is
 another question, and one which
 has nothing at all to do with the
 question before us. Though it
 may be observed, that the out-

cry against *all restrictions* is quite
new-fashioned, and has its foun-
 dation only in the trafficking no-
 tions of the Scotch economists,
 aided, just at this time, by the
 distresses of the Merchants and
 Manufacturers. Whether the
 policy be sound or unsound, it is
 clear, that the high price of West
 India produce is, in a great
 measure, to be ascribed to the
 restrictions on the West India
 trade; and, it is also clear, that
 those who are planters in the
 West Indies must be wholly
 ruined, if others, who are ex-
 empted from such restrictions, be
 allowed to bring the same, or si-
 milar, produce into the *sole* mar-
 ket, on the same terms as to tax.
 For the East Indians (of whom
 you are one) to demand this, is
 something monstrous. To talk
 of *competition* in such a case, is
 brute folly or sheer knavery; and
 to you, in this instance, one or
 the other of these may be much
 more *fairly* imputed than you
 have imputed to the West In-
 dians the desire to perpetuate

an "*infamous traffick*," by a tax on the people of England.

I now come to the second part of the subject of your letter, *the influence of the proposed measure as to the Slave trade*. The proposed measure is to lay an *additional duty* on East India Sugar in order to favour, or, rather, to prevent the ruin of the West India Planter. Now, say you, this is to *encourage a continuance of the Slave trade*; because, it is giving to those who cultivate sugar by the means of *slaves* an *advantage* over those who cultivate it by the means of *free men*! Well said, brother sleek! We shall see presently what pretty *free men* the poor East Indians are; but, first of all, do we pay no *taxes* upon this East India Sugar that do not come under the *name of tax*? Do you know how many millions of money have been squeezed from the flesh and bones of English labourers within the last thirty years to be paid to the *East India Company*? I do not, just at this

moment, but, has it been less than *thirty millions*? Are you aware

of the taxes raised here to pay for Boards of Controul, for Commissions of *Nabob of Arcot's Debts*, of which, for many years, the father of *Westminster's Pride*, No. 2, has been at the head? Oh, yes; you are aware of all this, and of a great deal more; and you know well enough, that all these things ought to be added, in estimating the cost of East India produce.

But, to hold you to a single point, if I can, why is money paid by this miserable nation to the East India Company; that is to say, to a particular set of Merchants? We owe them, from time to time. And, for what? Oh! for various things! For expences of Cape of Good Hope; for the use of St. Helena; for provisions for our army; and for various other things. But, good friend Cropper, are not all these things connected with the keeping of India in subjection to those Merchants? Do they not

all, in short, arise out of the possession of India? And what is this possession, then, but an *expendence*? Many millions were paid to the East India Company for sending troops to the *Red Sea* to make head against Napoleon, who was thought to be directing his steps that way. This was for the security of "*our empire in the East*;" that is to say, we, the ass-like people of England, had to bear the burthens necessary to enable a band of merchants to carry on their traffick and their grindings in security! You seem to forget all this, friend Cropper; but, I can assure *thee*, that thy cunning cant will deceive very few people now, for the interest has to be paid for the money borrowed to be paid to the *East India Company*, or, rather, flung away to it. There are, even now, it seems, in these days of "*distress*;" in these days of "*retrenchment and economy*;" even yet, there are, it seems, about two millions to be plucked from the wings of the already-

closely trimmed landlords, to be "*paid*" (a good word!) to the *East India Company*! I do not pity the landlords. So that we get gold, and the labourers their belly full, I care not a straw for the rest; but, this will try Mr. HUME. He laudably exposed the misapplication of *thousands*; but, if he be for the giving of these *millions*, we shall owe him little. He understands all about the India affair. It is one grand Scotch matter. He belongs to the India Stock-holders. He is a conspicuous man at the India-House. Let us see, then, whether he be staunch *here*; for this is the *touchstone*. I did not perceive him to *open* at all upon the subject of these *two millions*. A pretty affair it is however, and, if he be silent here, a fig for his rammaging into the dirt of the estimates. This India is one of the heads of the hydra; and, if he let it escape, I know what I and every man of common sense shall have to think of his motives. Now, friend Cropper, have we

ever had any money "to pay" to the West India Planters? Thou knowest that we have not. Thou knowest also, that we load the islands with placemen and pensioners; and, in short, oppress them in all manner of ways. Therefore, when thou addressest thy respected friend William again, pray remember some, at least, of these things, and do not talk of the taxes we pay to support the West Indies whilst thou art wholly silent upon those which we have paid, are now paying, and shall continue to pay as long as the Bank paper will pass, to support the East Indies.

But, the sugar is raised in the East Indies by *free men*; the West Indians want duties put on the East India sugar that they may continue an "*infamous traffick*" in slaves; the refusing of their request would *discourage that slavery* by the means of which they wish to cultivate their lands; and the motive that induced *you* to embark in the India trade was that of putting an end to Negro-slavery.

"All this thou say'st, and all thou say'st is lies." POPE

However, we here come to the point with you. You shuffle and cant about a great deal; put together a queer jumble of abstract trash and *hearsay* and *guessing* fact; but we have from you this proposition closely insinuated; that *you* entered into the East India trade for the purpose of aiding the *cause of freedom*. This is false, or you are the foolishlest man that ever walked about without a keeper. However, as this part of the subject is *large*, and as the public are deeply interested in the exposure of cant and hypocrisy, I have not room, in this Register to do that which I wish without neglecting other and more pressing matter. I shall; therefore, write thee another letter next week; and, in the meanwhile, I remain,

"Thy assured friend,"

WM. COBBETT.

No. I.

TO THE

MONEY-HOARDERS.

Very important intelligence, not to be neglected for a moment.

MY FRIENDS,

All that I said, in my last, about the *lack of gold*, at Liverpool and Manchester, has now been *fully confirmed*. And, a letter from *Manchester*, part of the contents of which has been communicated to me, says (under date of 11th July) "Gold sovereigns have almost entirely disappeared lately. The Bankers *here and at Liverpool* are about *to issue one pound notes*." Now, if this be correct, and I *believe* it is, the point seems to be nearly *settled*. For, observe, there never has been yet any *country-notes* issued in *Lancashire*! The only notes in circulation in that country were those of the Bank in Threadneedle Street, London, commonly called the Bank of England.

This, then, will be a pretty "*resumption of cash payments!*"

The Lancashire Country notes will not, however, answer much purpose, except that of showing, that there are not sovereigns to take up the Mother Bank notes with. In the meanwhile, let those who have the sense to wish to get gold, bear in mind, that they are not *compelled* to take country-notes even in payment of debt. Let them remember, too, that they can, if they have country-notes, go to the country paper-money makers and *compel them to exchange them for Bank of England notes*. Let every one bear this in mind. And, here, let me explain the *law* as to this matter.

Before 1811 the country paper had *no protection at all*. Any body might go to a country paper-money man and demand payment of his notes in *cash*. But, in that year, while the **THING** had me in Newgate, I wrote *Paper against Gold*, in which I explained all about the **THING'S**

paper-money. Amongst other matters I took that of the country-bank paper; and, as was my duty, I exhorted people to go and get gold from the country-banks. An application of this sort was made by *Mr. Henry Hunt* to the Bank of *Hobhouse* (a father of Westminster's Pride, No. 2.) and Company's Bank at Bath. They refused to pay in Gold. Mr. Hunt commenced his action at law against them; but, before the action could come on to be tried, an Act of Parliament came forth from Mr. Perry's "*Great Council of the Nation*," to protect country-banks against demands of payment in gold! It made the people submit to take *Bank of England notes*, in these cases, *instead of the gold!* Thus all was bound up in paper. All was paper. This was one of the deeds of *Perceval*, during whose terrible power so many desperate and deadly things were done. However, he did one good thing: he quickly swelled up the Debt to

that blessed bulk which is sure to bring us *effectual* relief in the end.

The law now is, that the country paper-fellows shall pay, if demanded, in *Bank of England notes*. Therefore, in order to get gold in exchange for country notes, you have only to carry the rags to those who have put them forth, and demand Mother Bank Notes. Then carry, or send, these to Threadneedle Street, London, where they will give you gold in exchange: precious gold that will *chink* and that will *not burn*. The folly, and even the wickedness, of keeping, or of assisting to circulate, paper-money, when you can get gold, I have clearly shown before; but, there is, as to country-paper, one thing that I have not sufficiently dwelt on; namely, the deception arising from the *appearance* of real property; that is to say, *house and land*, belonging to the country-paper man. "Ah! there is no fear of *him*: he has *such* and *such estates*." And, thus,

his notes are put by as if they were *gold* ! But, you forget, that, though these estates appear to be his, they may be no more *his* than yours. They may be *mortgaged* for as much as they will sell for ; and that, too, without any fault of his ; for they may, in consequence of Peel's Bill, have greatly fallen in value ; as, indeed, is the case all over the country. So that the paper-man may be insolvent *now* without any fault of his own. But, there are other ways of doing the thing. He may as soon as he becomes a paper-man, or before, convey *his property* to others ; settle it upon his wife, or children. And yet, it appears to be *his* ! In short, believe in no *appearances* of this sort : nothing, in the money way, is *safe*, except gold ; and, observe, that your danger becomes greater and greater every day ; for, it is impossible, that the payments in gold at the Bank should not put all the country paper-men to their trumps.

I am informed by my *little*

bird (and he never deceives me), that, since the payment of the *Midsummer Dividends* at the Bank ; that is to say, about 10 days ago, very considerable sales of funds have been made by persons possessed of from *two to five thousand pounds*, who have, almost invariably, gone and got *Sovereigns for the stock thus sold*. Good ! This shows, that there are some persons, at any rate, who are coming to their senses. These have no mind to want a bit of bread. They may now sleep in quiet.

I am further informed, that the *Mint* is no longer a scene of *sinecure offices* ; that the gentlemen there have *now* really something to do ; that they have, since *Wednesday, the 11th instant*, been pushing on with all imaginable dispatch ; that they can coin about *eighty thousand sovereigns a week* ; and that this is thought, by good judges, not half adequate to the public demand ; but that the Bank had a pretty good stock to start with,

and has not, *as yet*, quite overtaken the Mint, where all is *industry, bustle and stir!* A blessing on its labours, say I! I feel grateful towards these gentlemen, who are engaged in as good, as righteous, as efficient, as godly a work, as ever was performed by human beings. They are labouring to give happiness to the labouring classes; to put an end to the vilest of frauds, the most horrible cruelties; in short, to restore freedom to England. Nor ought we to withhold our praise from His Majesty's Ministers, who have set the Mint-Gentlemen in motion, and who have thus, at last, got into the *right* as well as the "*stern*" path. Their *wisdom* is well known. For *that* they are as renowned as SOLOMON himself. Indeed, they are so many Solomons; and, such, surely, they ought to be, considering the source of their authority. But, famous as they are for *wisdom*, I must confess, that, until now, their justice and benevolence were not so evident to

me as they appear to have been to the Manchester Magistrates and Yeomanry, Parson Hay, Bolton Fletcher, the Hampshire Parsons, and many others, who have sung their praises. Now, however, I do freely declare (even at the risk of being thought *inconsistent*) that this *Mint-Work* proves them to be *now* (whatever they may have been) *just* and benevolent creatures.

Let us not, however, forget *His Majesty*, who has such claims on our gratitude for having chosen these pretty gentlemen to conduct our affairs. The gold is the blessed assurance of our speedy restoration to happiness. The Mint-gentlemen coin the gold; the Ministers set the Mint-gentlemen in motion to coin the gold; but it is *the King* who has chosen the Ministers, who have set in motion the Mint-gentlemen, who are coining the gold, which is unto us a blessing. Therefore, to *His Majesty* it is, that we owe the blessing, and to him the far greater part of our gratitude is due.

Let me stop here to notice how lucky it is, for us, that these present men remain in power! If the Whigs had come in, some time ago, our state would not have been what it now is. They would have attacked *Peel's Bill* to a certainty. Their opponents do, I am told, express, now-and-then, their sorrow for having passed that immortal law! "Poor human nature!" It will even repent of virtue at times. But, I trust, that these pretty fellows will call up their fortitude, and that they will not backslide into sin; not, at least, until the nation be safely in possession of a sufficiency of gold to produce *two prices*, in case of another stoppage at the bank; more about which prices I shall say by and by.

The *Whigs* would, assuredly, have repealed *Peel's Bill*. Lord Lansdown has lately said, in so many words, that he *preferred a paper currency!* At any rate, he was for *leaving the question open!* Open! What does he

mean? What, then: *Peel's Bill* was to pass for nothing after all! This Bill, which, in the words of Mr. Canning, settled the matter *for ever*, left it all *open!* And, this party, who have been taunting the Ministers with "*imbecility*," were ready to act this imbecile part! Believe me, my friends, we are best as we are. Any change of Ministry must do some harm. It would *amuse*; and every thing that *now* amuses is bad for us. Ours is a *serious* and straight-forward concern. We want nothing to divert our attention from it; and, for the carrying of it on we want no ministers but, the present, who appear to have been begotten for the express purpose of bringing it to that close which it is obviously destined to arrive at.

I have just received a letter from a *Hoarder*, who seems, as to one point or two, to have *misunderstood* me. I will insert his letter, and then remark on it; for misunderstanding, upon mat-

ters of this kind, may lead to very fatal consequences.

" SIR,—In your article of advice to Money Hoarders, I think you are wrong on two points:—1st. As to the rise of price of Gold in Foreign Countries. You say, when this takes place, it will *lower the price of Food*, and other Goods. I, judging from the fact, that, when the price of Gold was high in this Country, provisions and every other article of property were also high in price, think they must also be high in Foreign Countries; because, if they are drained of Gold, the circulation *must be supplied by paper*; which will have the effect of keeping up prices, as I suppose the same effects will be produced in other Countries by a paper system, which have been produced here, viz. high prices. Whilst the Exchanges continue as they are at present, immense quantities of Bullion must come into this Country. Within the last

few weeks *very large* quantities of *American Gold* coin has been received in this Country. I believe the whole amount of Dividends due to holders of American Stock resident in this country has come in this way, besides large amounts to different Merchants, for payment of goods sent from this country, and it is accounted for by reason that American produce will fetch little or nothing in our markets. Second, I think you are wrong with regard to *Insurance Offices*. You say, if the funds are unsafe, why not put money in *Insurance Offices* rather than let it lay idle. On this point I hardly know whether to consider you serious, or a little bit wagish; if serious, I need only observe, to convince you you are wrong, that nineteen pounds out of twenty of their property are invested in the Funds, the odd pound may be out on mortgage; they can insure *from Death* as effectually as they

" can pay the amount of sums
 " insured, should the Fund Sys-
 " tem ever be upset. Sell Stock
 " and ' *make Hay,*' is the opi-
 " nion of

" Sir,

" Your most obedient Servant,

" E. W."

As to the first of these points, E. W. should observe, that, if we draw part of the gold out of France, for instance, there must be *less left there*; this will *raise it in value* when put *against goods*; there will be less of it to lay out; and less of it will be given for any given quantity of bread or other things of real value. This is very clear. E. W. says, that when gold was *high priced here*, bread was also high priced. But, it was the *paper-money* here that caused the high price. That paper-stuff, and not gold, was the *circulating money here*; and gold, in that state of things, was merely an article of traffick, a thing to be bought and sold, and not a thing to purchase goods with. Accordingly we see,

now that the paper-rags have diminished in quantity, the gold has fallen in price as well as other things.

E. W. seems to suppose, that, in France, for instance, our drawing away the gold will cause paper-money in the place of what we draw away. Oh, no! We must, *before the grand drama closes*, have our due proportion of all the gold in the world, and the countries, from which we draw our *share*, will not need to *resort to a paper stuff*. Their prices of commodities *will fall*, and the borrowers will suffer *there too*: but, they will not dare to issue a *paper-money*.

This is the season for getting men to *listen*: I will, therefore, carry my remarks upon this subject a little further. Suppose there were three nations in the world, and no more; suppose them all to be using no circulating medium except gold; suppose them to be all alike as to riches and number and amount of dealings; suppose that each has in

circulation ten millions of sovereigns; and suppose these three nations to be carrying on trade with one another. One nation shall be called the *Goldites*, another the *Cobbettites*, and the other the *Raggamuffins*. These latter, from some motive or other, resolve to have a *paper-money*; and out they put it, to the amount of five millions. It will then have fifteen millions in circulation; and the whole quantity of circulating medium amongst the three nations will be *thirty five*, instead of being, as it was before, *thirty millions*.

The first effect of this will be, that all prices of goods will rise in the country of the *Raggamuffins*. But, very soon some of its gold will go away to the *Goldites* and *Cobbettites*, because it will purchase more goods in those countries than in that of the *Raggamuffins*. This will make prices rise somewhat in those countries also; but, not in the same degree as they have risen in that of the *Raggamuffins*; because in this

latter the gold will circulate, as yet, along with the paper, and it will go away but slowly. But, the *Raggamuffins*, going on, like beastly dram-drinkers and wine bibbers, from a drop to a sip, from a sip to a gulp, from a gulp to a drink, get out such a quantity of paper, that the gold will no longer circulate with it, seeing, that by going to the *Cobbettites* and *Goldites* countries it will purchase so much more of goods than it will purchase in the country of the *Raggamuffins*. Thus, then, at last, the *Goldites* and *Cobbettites* get *all the thirty millions* of gold sovereigns between them; and there stand the *Raggamuffins* with nothing but their sham paper-money, and with prices so high as to astonish even themselves.

At last, the *Raggamuffin* nation begin to be frightened at the effects of their own handy work. They resolve to have gold again. Tremendous is the ruin that this must occasion, and various are the workings of the thing; but, they resolve

to do it; and to work they go diminishing the quantity of their paper-money. As they diminish this, gold sovereigns find their way back from the Cobbettites and the Goldites; and by the time that the paper is *all gone*, the Raggamuffins will have gotten back *their ten millions of Sovereigns*, leaving ten millions in each of the other two nations. All the time that the gold is coming back, in consequence of the destruction of the rags, prices will be getting back to their old mark in Raggamuffinania; and, *in the other two nations also*, because, as the prices *rose there* in consequence of those countries getting the gold from the Raggamuffins, they must *fall there* when the gold goes back to the Raggamuffins.

Now, if I have succeeded in explaining this matter to E. W. he will not have to regret, that he misunderstood me. He will perceive why prices should *fall* in France and in other countries in consequence of our drawing away a part of their gold. And, the Agricul-

tur-asses may perceive also, if they have any brains left, if their skulls be not as empty as drums, that prices in Poland and America now fall from the *same cause* that they fall here; and, fall as low as our prices of produce may, that produce will never be able to face foreign produce in our markets, until, as in the case of the Raggamuffins, *all our rags be gone!*

As to the fact, mentioned by E. W. relative to gold coming from the *United States* to pay their fund-lords, resident here, it is likely enough, and it is an instance in corroboration of the above explanation. This is one of the ways in which we are getting back *our due proportion* of gold. But, let me apply for a moment, the above illustration to the United States. "That coun-try," say the Ministers, "is in *distress too*," It is only *commercial and borrowers distress*, mind, *there*. But, has it not, as I have frequently said, been, in part occasioned by *Peel's Bill?*

Has not the drawing in of our paper been the cause in part? Aye, and I venture to predict, that the Americans will never pay the *interest of their debt in full*, for more than about a couple of years, if our famous fellows continue to pay in gold. Take care, therefore, you who put your money in what you call the "*American funds*." The President, indeed, *talks* of proposing *internal taxation* to be able to pay the interest of the Debt; but, *talk* and *do*, Mr. President, are very different things. If the American Farmers once can submit to internal taxes *in time of peace*, they are *slaves*. The trammels will be drawn over them by degrees, till they will, before they are aware of it, become the scorn of the world. But, I say no more on this subject at present, intending to address a Letter on it to the Americans themselves; for this accursed system shall, while my hand is steady enough to hold a pen, exist neither there nor here free from my hostility.

The other point, mentioned in the letter of E. W. contains a *sheer mistake* on his part. If he look at the last Register again, page 1036, he will see, that my opinion of the *security of Insurance Offices* exactly agrees with his own. However, the *Labourers* have nothing in those offices, and I care very little about the fate of those, who, in any way whatever, have *voluntarily* dipped themselves in paper-money, or in any thing that appertains to it, though in the most distant degree. I care more about the man, whom the Justices of Cheshire sent to jail for **FOUR YEARS AND A HALF** than I care about all the fund-lords, landlords, and *insurance office* people put together.

Praise be to the pretty gentlemen at Whitehall, the thing *works well*. CASTLEREAGH'S "*general working of events*" will do the business neatly and completely in the end. It will not leave a fragment of the system. The *small stock-holders selling*

out and getting away gold is very good. They have no right to complain of ruin, if they do not do this. They will be the *makers of their own ruin*. They have gold tendered to them by the Bank; and, if they refuse to take it, let them *perish*, say I; let them rot like weeds and straw.

I do most cordially agree with E. W. in the conclusion; to which he comes: "*Make hay: sell out 'stock and get sovereigns.*" The Old Lady in Threadneedle Street, is, in one respect, I believe, like all other ladies, young as well as old: that is to say, you must, if you mean to enjoy her favours, *take her when she is in the mood!* Ladies are very punctillious as to this particular; and they are in the right. Their favours are of a nature to be, not *received*, but *leaped at*. It is not *coldness*, in such a case, which is to be talked of, but want of *fire*. Bear this in mind, my friends, the *Hoarders*; recollect that the Dame is rather *ancient* too; she makes *the first advance!* For the ho-

nour of both sex take her at her word; fly to her embraces and rifle her of those charms which will give you enjoyments unspeakable, and that will stick by you to the end of your lives.

She may, and suddenly too, *change her mind*. She is *no chicken*; no sighing shepherdess, not she. She will never dangle from a bed-tester nor dive into a pond at the coldness of a lover. She has been long disciplined in the ways of man. She can give a coy swain a kick in the ribs or a slap in the chops with any lass of Billingsgate. Take her, therefore, while she is kind. Her heart is open now; jump at her, lest she close it up again, some slight symptoms of a disposition to do which I have already observed and have duly informed you of. And, remember, that she is a very devil incarnate if you slight her. She is pretty well accustomed to acts of a "sternish cast." If she take the whim, she will throttle you in a moment. Some ranting poet says:

" Heaven has no curse like love to
 " hatred turn'd,

" Nor Hell a fury like a woman
scorn'd."

Rant as this is, it is but too true; and, experience will, if you make the fatal experiment, soon convince you, that the Lady in question, Old as she is, is, in this respect, true to her sex. Therefore, once more, *take her at her word.* Make hay while the sun shines. Take the Dame while the smiles are on her face; for, if she *frown* only once more, the Lord have mercy upon you! No matter for her expiring, in the fit of rage, herself: *you are destroyed* in the mean time; therefore, be warned and be wise in time.

I am, if you do as you ought,

Your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S.—I insert the following very interesting account from the Morning Chronicle of to-day. I have no time for remark, but beg you to pay particular attention to it.

" GUILDHALL.—FORGED NOTES.—

Although the circulation of forged 11. notes is considerably decreased, the public must still be upon their guard with respect to the few that are now passing. One plate is understood to be still at work, and much activity is used to circulate the impressions from it. A wholesale dealer, as it should seem, in these forged notes, underwent an examination at this office, before Sir John Perring, yesterday. The name given in by the prisoner was MATHEW CARR; he described himself as a hawker about the country, and his general appearance was suitable to the character.

Mr. Maynard, the Bank solicitor, stated, that he had numerous charges to prefer against him, in some of which he was not prepared with his evidence. There were, however, three

cases, the parties in which were present, and he should therefore be able to shew sufficient of the practice of the prisoner in this nefarious system to warrant the Magistrate in remanding him for further examination.

Thomas Hedges, of No. 20, Chiswell-street, tailor, stated, that, about the middle of May, the prisoner ordered at his shop two coats and a pair of trousers to be made for him, and to be ready by the following Saturday, when he would call and pay for them. Previous to the Saturday, he (Mr. H.) received a note, as from the prisoner, desiring the clothes, when finished, to be sent to No. 1, Hosier-lane, Smithfield, with the bill and receipt. The name signed to this note was W. Royné. The shopman was accordingly sent with the clothes on the Saturday, and found the prisoner at the house, who paid him for the goods with seven 11. notes. These notes, on the shopman's return, were immediately discovered to be forgeries, and he (Mr. H.) went to Hosier-lane directly, but the prisoner had decamped, and he had nei-

ther seen nor heard of him since, till he learnt he was in custody.

The second charge against the prisoner was preferred by Mr. Thomas, of Vine-street, Hatton-wall, stove grate maker, from whom the prisoner purchased on the 4th of June, an elliptic stove, for 12s. and requested the porter to accompany him with it to his house, Whitehorse-court, Cow-cross, with change for a one-pound note, when he would pay for it. The porter accordingly went with him, and on their arrival in Gun-court, Whitehorse-alley, the prisoner desired him to set the stove down at a door, gave him a one-pound note, and received the change. This note was also discovered to be forged, and on inquiry, the prisoner was not known at the house, or in the neighbourhood.

There was a third charge against the prisoner of a similar nature, for passing a forged note with Mr. Pemberton, butcher, in Aldersgate-street, in payment for a leg of mutton. The meat he desired to be sent with him by a

servant, to a house in the neighbourhood, and who was to wait for payment. He, however, took the man into a public-house next door to the one he said he was going to, treated him with a glass of ale, received the meat and the change, and gave him a one pound note. On their coming out, the butcher's servant, perceiving his customer start in a different direction to what he expected, began to think all was not right, and seeing the prisoner quickening his pace, pursued him, charged him with having given him a forged note, and ultimately, after much struggling, secured him in custody.

The nine notes were produced, and declared by Mr. Lees, the Bank Inspector, to be forgeries in all respects, and the prisoner being identified as the utterer in every instance, was remanded, to give time for the production of the evidence in the other charges against him, which were said to amount to 11 or 12.

BREWING.

I, some time ago, intimated my intention of publishing an account of the result of an experiment I was about to make in *brewing for a family*. I have made the experiment, which has perfectly satisfied me, that any one may make *stronger* beer for *sixpence a gallon* than can be purchased of brewers for *sixpence a quart*; and that excellent table beer can be brewed for *four pence a gallon*. But, to do justice to this matter; to give a good heavy souce to the pot-house and the tea-kettle, I must have more space than the Register (without excluding other matter) will give me; and yet, SIX ACTS are a bar in my way; for, they will not allow me to publish any thing in numbers at less than *sixpence*, unless I do it *once a month* and no

oftener. I have managed Six-Acts pretty well; and I shall now manage them in this way. I shall publish *monthly*, four or five, perhaps it may go to *six Numbers*, which will form a little work, intended for the use of industrious, and especially, *labouring families*; and this work is to be entitled, "COTTAGE ECONOMY." Six-Acts have a particular attachment to the two days which end one month and begin another. This may be thought whimsical; but, Six-Acts is a gentleman that "thunders," and, therefore, we have nothing to do but submit. I shall, then, on the *First of August* publish the *First Number* of this little work, in the course of which I shall treat of *Brewing, Baking, Cows, Pigs, Poultry and Bees*; of the raising of food for Cows and Pigs; and, in short, of all

things that occur to me that I think it useful to treat of in a work intended to prevent that misery, which is brought upon labouring families by the pot-house and the tea-kettle.

A CHALLENGE

To the two Universities and all the Parsons.

Five of Cobbett's *Monthly Sermons*, (Price 3d.) have been published, and nearly *forty thousand Sermons* have been sold. Now, I hereby challenge the above bodies and individuals to show that any *hundred sermons*, published by members of their cloth, ever had a sale to the same number. Besides this, the *Sermons*, when printed in a first edition, are *Stereotyped*, so that *new editions* (and many have been printed) are struck off at any time; and, there requires no

heavy stock on hand to keep the demand supplied, and to enable readers to complete their sets at any time.—When 12 Sermons are out, there will be a neat little volume.—We already beat the “*Tract Society*” out of the water; and it must mend its hand, or people will not take its pamphlets even at a gift, except for purposes which it would be hardly decent to describe. The nation has to thank *Six Acts* for this publication. The spirit was in motion: it was working within: and, feeling itself checked, in its former channel, by *Six Acts*, it broke out in this new manner.

Books published by Thomas Dolby, 299, Strand, London.

THE QUEEN'S CLAIMS to be CROWNED, just published, price 2s.

The ARGUMENTS of Messrs. Brougham and Denman, before the Privy Council in support of HER MAJESTY'S CLAIMS to be CROWNED. These eloquent and argumentative appeals embrace a Legal and Historical Review of the Coronation of

Queens Consorts of England from the remotest period of antiquity to the present time. To which are added, the REPLY of His Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor General;—the Decision, and Her Majesty's Answer.

* * It is necessary to order “Dolby's edition” of the above “ARGUMENTS;” there being an edition published, purporting to be by the “Queen's Authority,” in which the REPLY of the King's Attorney and Solicitor General is entirely omitted.

BRITISH REGALITIES.

This day is published, No. 1, (Price 6d. to be continued in rapid succession) of the

CORONATION REPORTER; to be completed in about Four Numbers, in 18mo. printed on the finest paper, with a new and elegant type, containing a description of every ceremony and a Report of every occurrence connected with the Coronation; embellished with ENGRAVINGS of the principal Scenes drawn and engraved by eminent Artists. Each number will be stitched in an ornamental coloured wrapper, and the book will form, when complete, an elegant little volume, suitable, both from its size and substance for a present to young persons, &c.

MEMOIRS of H. HUNT, Esq. No. 17, Price 1s. just Published, containing, in addition to the continuation of the Author's Memoir, an Address to the Radical Reformers of Great Britain, on the termination of the Inquiry into the State of Ilchester Gaol.

On Saturday, July 28th inst. will be published, No 1, to be continued Weekly, of

THE WHOLE of the EVIDENCE given on oath before a bench of Somersetshire Magistrates, and again before his Majesty's Commissioners, during the recent INVESTIGATION. This Evidence was taken literally as delivered, and will now be published, disclosing instances of cruelty and oppression seldom equalled in the most barbarous state of society.

"This sink of Iniquity," and all the abuses connected therewith, have been brought to light through the individual exertions of Mr. Hunt; who, in conducting the prosecution before the Magistrates, as well as before His Majesty's Commissioners, has, under every disadvantage of ill-health and inconvenience, made the greatest exertions; and displayed a knowledge of legal tactics, equal, if not superior, to his celebrated Trial at York.

* * In No. I. will be given an authentic PORTRAIT of Mr. BRIDLE, gaoler of Ilchester, lately taken under the protection of the "MORNING POST and FASHIONABLE WORLD!"

Orders received by all Booksellers, or if transmitted to the Publisher, 299, Strand, London, will be punctually attended to.—Dolby forwards parcels of books weekly, and at other periods, to all parts of Great Britain.